

**CIRCULATION, ACCESS, AND TOURIST EXPERIENCE:
BERLIN'S CENTER AND PERIPHERY AS CASE STUDY**

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Grace Meloy

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This thesis was presented

by

Grace Meloy

It was defended on

April 3, 2014

and approved by

Barbara McCloskey, PhD, Associate Professor and Department Chair, History of Art and Architecture,
University of Pittsburgh

Erika Doss, PhD, Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Notre Dame

Thesis Co-Chair: Kirk Savage, PhD, Professor, History of Art and Architecture, University of Pittsburgh

Thesis Co-Chair: Gretchen Bender, PhD, Assistant Chair and Director of Undergraduate Studies, History
of Art and Architecture, University of Pittsburgh

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The desire for authenticity has been recognized to be one of the main factors affecting tourist behavior and experience. It is not, however, the only variable. Circulation and access, topics that belong to the hereto-limited genre of sociology known as “mobilities,” also affect how tourists behave and experience a tourist environment. Indeed, the circulation of tourists and access to tourist sites, which are influenced by the built environment, the limitations of physical infrastructure, and tourist resources, impact how tourists interact and experience space, and thereby fundamentally affect their behavior and experience. Through critical reexamination of secondary literature, assessment of primary sources such as guidebooks, tourist websites, and city maps, and site analysis, I compare the tourist environment that constitutes Berlin's central district, Mitte, with two sites in Berlin's periphery, the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park and the former Stasi prison memorial in Hohenschönhausen, through the perspective of accessibility and circulation. This includes a visual analysis of the movement from the center into the periphery to more fully understand how circulation and access affect the experience of these sites and, more broadly, the tourist environment of the periphery. This exploration of the two distinct tourist environments present in Berlin, that of the central tourist enclave and that of the city's periphery, reveals advantages and disadvantages that traditional tourist studies would not and demonstrates the significance of studying how tourists circulate, access, and ultimately interact with tourist sites and the built environment to developing our understanding of tourist experience.

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PREFACE

I would like to thank Dr. Barbara McCloskey of the University of Pittsburgh and Dr. Erika Doss of the University of Notre Dame for serving on my defense committee. The comments received at my defense were evidence of how thoughtfully and critically they read my thesis, and I truly appreciate the dedication to helping me improve my work. I would like to thank Dr. Mrinalini Rajagopalan for helping me develop my bibliography and discussing my project with me, as well as Mischa Gabowitsch for answering my questions about the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park. Additionally, I am so grateful to have had the opportunity to work with Dr. Kirk Savage and to have him serve as my committee co-chair. His constructive comments and the conversations we had about figuring out how to focus two years of research into a single thesis were essential to the creation of this paper. Finally, this paper (and receiving a Bachelor of Philosophy degree) would not have been possible without the persistent encouragement from my advisor Dr. Gretchen Bender. Her patience, diligence, and confidence in me made it possible for me to push this project to its full potential. Truly, this project and Dr. Bender's vital role in it have profoundly shaped my undergraduate experience at the University of Pittsburgh, and I am forever grateful to have had this opportunity.

I. INTRODUCTION

Climbing the stairs out of the Brandenburger Tor U-bahn station, the most iconic Berlin monument is revealed to the tourist: the Brandenburg Gate. This is an image tourists already know, but seeing it in person gives the gate's existence new meaning. The square in front of the gate, Pariser Platz, is bustling with people, mostly tourists identifiable by their incessant picture taking in front of the classical columns of the historic gate, proving that they were there and recording this moment so that it may be revisited in the future [Figure 1].



Figure 1. Sea of tourists in front of the Brandenburg Gate (Photo by Alexander Stoltzfus Host).

Walking towards the square, signs present a plethora of options about where the tourist can venture next: Alexanderplatz 2300 meters away, Museuminsel 1350 meters, Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas 500 meters, Reichstag/Bundestag 550 meters, Brandenburger Tor 200 meters, and so on

[Figure 2]. The names connect to the images already present in tourists' minds, and they are excited by all of the possibilities and the chance to see these sights that are concentrated in Berlin's center.



Figure 2. Signs revealing all of the tourist sites near the Brandenburger Tor U-bahn station. Inset illustrates the setting of the signpost near the Brandenburg Gate.¹

The center, full of important Berlin tourist sites like the Brandenburg Gate and largely adapted to meet the needs of tourists, starkly contrasts the landscape of the city surrounding it, Berlin's periphery. While the periphery also contains within it important tourist sites, the landscape is not designed around the tourist, and, consequently, tourists interact with the sites very differently from those in the center. The distinction between center and periphery is particularly marked in Berlin, resulting from how the city has developed in response to the events of the twentieth century. This paper seeks to examine this distinction between the tourist environments of the center and that of the periphery and explore the advantages and disadvantages that arise in each with regards to tourist experience.

¹ This image and all of the following images were created by the author during the summer of 2013.

II. METHODOLOGY

In his central text *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, Dean MacCannell strives to identify and examine the role of tourism in modern society. He works to characterize the behavior and expectations of tourists, as well as to categorize tourist attractions and their features. He relates the tourist experience to the sacred pilgrimage, discussing how sites become sacred through numerous stages.² Part of this sacralization occurs through framing and highlighting the site by placing it on tourist itineraries, maintaining its sacred quality through the reproduction of its image via posters, postcards, guidebooks, and so forth.

Moving beyond the work of MacCannell, John Urry, another leading scholar of the theory and practice of tourism, characterizes tourist behavior as consumptive in nature, for the tourist anticipates and then consumes the sites and sights, food and drink, and activities that comprise the tourist experience of a particular place.³ He identifies the significance of the “gaze” in this consumption and suggests that places are gazed upon because of the anticipation of gazing them.⁴ The desire for authenticity, both that of the object and experiential, has been recognized to be one of the main factors in this consumptive behavior and, consequently, exploring the role of authenticity in tourist behavior and experience is one of the primary interests in tourism studies, explored extensively by scholars such as MacCannell, Cohen, Wang, and Reisinger and Steiner.⁵

Still, the desire for authenticity is not the only variable that affects tourist behavior and experience. Circulation and access, topics that belong to the hereto-limited genre of sociology known as “mobilities,” affect how the tourist behaves and experiences a tourist environment. “Mobilities” is the area of study in sociology concerned with “establishing a ‘movement-driven’ social science in which movement, potential movement, and blocked movement are all conceptualized as constitutive of

² MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1999), 45.

³ Urry, John, “The ‘Consumption’ of Tourism,” *Sociology* 24 (1990): 23-35.

⁴ Urry, John and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: SAGE Publications, 2011), 3.

⁵ MacCannell, *The Tourist*; Cohen, Erik, “A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences,” *Sociology* 13 (1979): 179-201; Wang, Ning, “Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 26/2 (1999): 349-370; Reisinger, Y., and C. Steiner, “Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 33 (2006): 65-86.

economic, social, and political relations.”⁶ Urry defines different genres of mobilities, including the bodily travel of people, physical movement of objects, imaginative travel, virtual travel, and communicative travel.⁷

This notion of “mobilities” guides the methodology of this paper, focusing on the bodily travel of people, or more specifically, tourists in Berlin. Indeed, the circulation of tourists and access to tourist sites, which are influenced by the built environment, the limitations of physical infrastructure, and tourist resources, greatly contribute to how tourists interact and experience space, and thereby fundamentally affect their behavior and experience. While the concept of what constitutes a tourist can be extremely complex—in this case, Berlin tourists can be foreigners, other Germans, or even Berlin residents—the focus here is on English-speaking visitors from western countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States. The definition of a tourist is restricted as such because first, tourists from these countries make up a large portion of those visiting Berlin, and second, being an English speaker myself, I am able to contribute to this perspective most effectively.⁸ Additionally, my study will focus on a specific time period, using resources from within the last several years and data from on-site analysis that was collected during the summer of 2013. Thus, within this framework and through critical reexamination of secondary literature, assessment of primary sources such as guidebooks, tourist websites, and city maps, and site analysis, I will compare the tourist environment that constitutes Mitte, the city’s central district, with two sites in Berlin’s periphery, the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park and the former Stasi prison memorial in Hohenschönhausen, through the perspective of accessibility, circulation, and transportation patterns to demonstrate the significance of these to tourist behavior and experience. These two periphery sites were chosen not only for their location within Berlin’s periphery but also to examine how “westerners” now seek out former Soviet and Cold War sites in post-reunification Berlin. Such sites are becoming popular given that they were, until relatively recently, behind the Wall and, as a result, inaccessible to westerners. Additionally, this investigation will include a visual analysis of the tourist’s

⁶ Urry, John, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 43.

⁷ Ibid., 45.

⁸ “January-July 2013,” Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, http://press.visitberlin.de/sites/default/files/jan-juli2013_engl.pdf

movement from the city's center out into the periphery to investigate the effects of circulation and access to the tourist's experience beyond the boundaries of the sites themselves. This will allow for a fuller understanding of how tourists interact with and experience the landscape of the periphery and tourist sites within it.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTER

To begin to examine accessibility and circulation, one must first understand Berlin's recent history and its effect on the built environment. Since Berlin's, and more broadly Germany's reunification in 1990 and subsequent repositioning of the Federal Republic of Germany's capital back to Berlin, the city has become intensely self-conscious. Left with the task of physically merging two halves of a city that had been divided for decades, Berlin has had to look critically at how this reconstruction will be achieved. Moreover, the depth of the city's various histories and controversial reactions to them has forced it to focus on the question of "how to reinterpret and re-imagine its history," for Berlin is a "city of memorials and of deliberate absences; of remembering and forgetting, or trying to forget; of reshaping the past and of trying to build a new future."⁹ Because of these histories – National Socialism, World War II, the Holocaust, the rise of the German Democratic Republic, and the division of Berlin into East and West – the capital of a newly unified Germany, has a great responsibility to remember and must carefully consider how it portrays its image.

What has resulted in Berlin's "reimagining" is that the city has become focused on the center. The center of the city was witness to the most destruction during the twentieth century due to bombing in World War II, post-war urban renewal, and by being the seam along which the Wall divided the city.¹⁰ Huyssen characterizes post-unification Berlin's center as being filled with "voids" and claims that recognizing these voids and acting to rectify them is symbolically important for the newly unified nation, for it conveys the city's active response to its histories and an acknowledgement of its responsibilities to

⁹ Cochrane, Allan, "Making Up Meanings in a Capital City: Power, Memory and Monuments in Berlin," *European Urban and Regional Studies* 13 (2006): 7.

¹⁰ Huyssen, Andreas, "The Voids of Berlin," *Critical Inquiry* 24/1 (Autumn 1997): 63.

address them, as well as a commitment to its future. Rebuilding the city center has led to confrontation with the multiple and visible layers of the city's histories, hence Huyssen's description of Berlin as a "palimpsest."¹¹ He suggests that keeping Berlin as a palimpsest, revealing the ubiquitous traces of memories, voids, erasures, and illegibilities may help Berlin and Germany move forward because addressing the city's and nation's histories as disparate, complicated, and ever-changing would become part of Berlin's identity.¹² This is not exactly what has happened, however, for the city's center has been developed through construction, re-orientation, and the categorization of its built environment, which has forced Berlin to pick and choose which histories it will feature. He criticizes this approach, claiming that when determining how to rebuild the city's center, the image of Berlin is deemed more significant than the functions of the buildings being constructed and that the tourist is of superior concern over the Berlin citizen.¹³ This latter concern is partly explained by the fact that tourism is one of the dominant ways that the nation presents itself to others, to whom Berlin must demonstrate that it is acknowledging its history.¹⁴ Thus, throughout Mitte, Berlin's central district, sites have been reconstructed, preserved, restored, and presented most emphatically to the Other, or tourist.

This focus on the center has been questioned most critically by Berlin scholar Brian Ladd, who introduces a distinction between the center and periphery. Although he recognizes the importance of the center to the city, he also emphasizes that the center of Berlin is the area that most lacks historic character. In contrast, the periphery did not lose as much of its historic fabric through the destructive events of the twentieth century.¹⁵ Ladd's concern is that forcefully developing Berlin's center will "paralyze" the periphery, rather than letting the center organically develop and be invigorated by the periphery.¹⁶

¹¹ Huyssen, Andreas, "After the War: Berlin as Palimpsest" in *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 81.

¹² Ibid., 84.

¹³ Huyssen, "The Voids of Berlin," 66.

¹⁴ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze*, 146.

¹⁵ Ladd, Brian, "Center and Periphery in the New Berlin: Architecture, Public Art, and the Search for Identity," *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 22/2 (May 2000): 14.

¹⁶ Ibid., 21.

In addition to the city's development being center-oriented, the discussion of Berlin's memory work has also been focused on the center. Through important texts, such as Ladd's *Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, Karen Till's *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*, and Caroline Wiedmer's *The Claims of Memory: Representation of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, the center has been made more visible, while the periphery continues to recede into the background. This literature also contributes to the dialogue that defines which sites are important to Berlin's identity, and subsequently its tourist experience, drawing attention to the city's center in that image. Some of the sites that are consistently highlighted are the remains of the Berlin Wall (particularly the remains at the memorial on Bernauer Straße and at the East Side Gallery), the Brandenburg Gate, the Reichstag, the new construction at Potsdamer Platz, and the exhibit Topography of Terror, archaeological remains of the Gestapo headquarters.

IV. THE CENTRAL TOURIST ENCLAVE

Due to Berlin's development being oriented around Mitte, the city's concern for the tourist, and its focus on important sites of memory in the center (as established by scholars such as Ladd, Till, and Wiedmer), Berlin has effectively established a central tourist enclave. Dennis Judd defines the "tourist enclave" in his article, "Visitors and the Spatial Ecology of the City," as a general "bubble" of tourist sites and amenities separated from the city surrounding it.¹⁷ Although a tourist enclave is "segregated" from the rest of the city, in the case of Berlin this segregation is not necessarily physical. The boundaries of the tourist enclave are physically permeable, but through cues in the built environment and preconceived notions of Berlin's urban landscape, they are defined psychologically.¹⁸ As a result, there is freedom of movement within Berlin's central tourist enclave, but the movement into and, more importantly, out of the bubble and into the periphery is perceived to be less free.

¹⁷ Judd, Dennis R., "Visitors and the Spatial Ecology of the City," in *Cities and Visitors: Regulating People, Markets, and City Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), 23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

Indeed, tourist enclaves are designed to compel tourists to stay within them, which is achieved by “[regulating] their inhabitants through the control of four principal aspects of agency: desire, consumption, movement, and time.”¹⁹ The desire of the visitor to Berlin’s central tourist enclave is to have their expectations met, seeing the sites that constitute the city’s tourist experience. These sites, which the tourist consumes, are largely located in the center, keeping them within the enclave. This desire is fueled by the anticipation of seeing the sight of the site, for “the act of sightseeing culminates in the tourist linking to the sight a marker of his very own.”²⁰ Tourist attractions, which are created through the relationship of tourist, sight, and marker of the sight, are surrounded by anticipation, which tourists develop through research.²¹ This anticipation of a sight/site, which is constructed through the propagation of images and texts distributed through media, such as guidebooks and websites, greatly influences the tourist experience because it contributes to the formulation of the marker.²² Anticipation is also what makes people want to consume.²³ Hence, this first feature, desire, invigorates the second feature, consumption, which makes the tourist want to stay in the center.

The third principle that is instrumental in regulating the inhabitants of a tourist enclave is movement. The movement within Berlin’s tourist enclave is perceived to be free and allows the tourist to wander, which makes the center attractive for stumbling upon interesting sites to be consumed.²⁴ Moreover, because everything in the enclave is relatively close together, which further promotes freedom, the tourist’s time can also be spent more efficiently, thereby addressing the fourth principle of regulation, time. Abbaspour and Samadzadegan found in their study “Itinerary Planning in Multimodal Urban Transportation” that the driving motivation in trip planning is efficiency, meaning people want to

¹⁹ Judd, “Visitors and the Spatial Ecology of the City,” 29.

²⁰ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 136.

²¹ Ibid., 41; Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze*, 119.

²² Hospers, Gert-Jan, “Lynch, Urry and City Marketing: Taking Advantage of the City as a Built and Graphic Image,” *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 5 (2009): 228; Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze*, 4.

²³ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze*, 51.

²⁴ The term “stumble upon” has gained particular significance in Berlin, where Gunter Demnig’s Stumbling Stones Project has left its mark, literally, in the sidewalks and streets of the city. Small engraved gold stones are embedded in the ground to mark the location of the last place of residence of victims of the Holocaust. Once tourists notice one of these “stumbling stones” (*Stolpersteine*), they begin to see them everywhere, stumbling upon pieces of the history of the Holocaust throughout Berlin’s landscapes. Source: Gould, Mary Rachel, and Rachel E. Silverman, “Stumbling Upon History: Collective Memory and the Urban Landscape,” *GeoJournal* 78 (2013): 791-801.

maximize the number of places visited in the allotted time of their trip.²⁵ A tourist enclave with such a high saturation of sites as Berlin's Mitte satisfies this consideration. Thus, Berlin's center exhibits control of the four principles that combine to regulate the tourist in the central enclave.

V. THE CENTER AND TOURIST RESOURCES

Tourist resources also substantiate the existence and persistence of the city's central tourist enclave. Four guidebooks and four websites were examined for this study. All of the references were geared towards English speaking tourists, a group that constitutes a significant percentage of those who travel to Berlin.²⁶ The guidebooks chosen were *Lonely Planet: Berlin* (hereafter referred to as *Lonely Planet guide*), *Rick Steve's Snapshot: Berlin* (*Rick Steve's guide*), *Frommer's Berlin Day-by-Day: 22 Smart Ways to See the City* (*Frommer's guide*), and *Knopf MapGuides Berlin: The City in Section-by-Section Maps* (*Knopf MagGuide*). These were chosen based on their high ratings and reviews on Amazon.com and their variety of presentation. The *Lonely Planet guide* is the most traditional guidebook, outlining different neighborhoods and the sites within them. It is also fairly detailed and the longest of the four. Both *Rick Steve's guide* and the *Frommer's guide* are more summative, with the former suggesting different ways to plan your time in Berlin and the latter categorizing Berlin into "Best of" sections, including "Best of Berlin in One Day" and "The Best Dining." Both are shorter and more compact, focusing on highlights of the city. The *Knopf MapGuide* is based on the use of fold out maps, dividing the city into zones and highlighting important sites in each.

The four websites used were *visitBerlin*, *TripAdvisor*, *Fodor's Travel*, and *Lonely Planet*.²⁷ These were chosen based on their access (how prominent they were in response to Google searches about Berlin tourism, travel, etc.) and the variety of their formatting and sources. *Fodor's Travel* and *Lonely Planet* are

²⁵ Abbaspour, R.A., and F. Samadzadegan, "Itinerary Planning in Multimodal Urban Transportation Network," *Journal of Applied Sciences* 9/10 (2009), 1900.

²⁶ "January-December 2010," Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, http://www.visitberlin.de/sites/default/files/jan_-dec_10.pdf.

²⁷ "visitBerlin," Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, <http://www.visitberlin.de/en>; "Berlin Travel Guide," TripAdvisor, 2014, http://www.tripadvisor.com/Travel_Guide-g187323-Berlin.html; "Berlin Travel Guide," Fodor's Travel, 2014, <http://www.fodors.com/world/europe/germany/berlin/>; "Berlin, Germany," Lonely Planet, 2014, <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/germany/berlin>.

both established travel guide companies. *TripAdvisor* is also well established and fully integrates the use of reviews made by other tourists. *visitBerlin* is Berlin's official tourist website, associated with the Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH enterprise.

These tourist resources promote the tourist enclave in many ways. First, the guidebooks immediately limit the perspective of Berlin to its central district through the use of maps. If a "city map" is included with a guidebook, it inevitably only includes the neighborhoods in the city's center. *Knopf MapGuide*, which is formatted entirely around the use of maps, divides "Berlin" into six maps, but these maps only cover the central neighborhoods of the city. The *Lonely Planet guide* includes a two-sided map, the back side of which includes some of the peripheral neighborhoods of the city, although this side is essentially useless due to the lack of detail. It is only included to identify the context for the map on the front side, which identifies the location of sights, transportation stations, and gives street names. It can be seen from this first map, however, that the more detailed map which the tourist actually uses is only about 1/9 of "Berlin," but even this is not accurate, for the first map also reduces the size of the city. As a result of reductions such as these, tourists will automatically perceive Berlin to consist of these central districts because that is what they are presented with in the form of "city maps."

Reviewing the sites that these guidebooks and websites highlight in their recommendations reveal which are perceived to be significant and thus constitute the city's tourist experience. The following table outlines those that are highly recommended in all four of the guidebooks, as well as the sites that are highly recommended in $\frac{3}{4}$ of them. This demonstrates that 24 sites were consistently recommended [Table 1].

Table 1. Recommended sites extracted from the four guidebooks.

Highly Recommended in All Guidebooks	Highly Recommended in $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Guidebooks
Brandenburg Gate	Berlin Wall Memorial
Checkpoint Charlie	DDR Museum
Gemäldegalerie	East Side Gallery

Gendarmenmarkt	German History Museum
Holocaust Memorial	Hackesche Höfe
Museum Island (Pergamon Museum)	Hamburger Bahnhof
Jewish Museum	Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church
Potsdamer Platz	TV Tower
New Synagogue	Topography of Terror
Reichstag	
Tiergarten	
Unter den Linden	

These sites are fairly clustered in the center. The furthest distance north to south between any of the sites recommended in all four guidebooks is approximately three kilometers (1.9 miles, between the New Synagogue and the Jewish Museum), and the same holds true for the furthest distance east to west (between Museum Island and the Gemäldegalerie). Additionally, the furthest distance between any two sites, including those recommended in only $\frac{3}{4}$ of the guidebooks, is about eight kilometers (five miles), which is due to the two outliers, the East Side Gallery and the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. Not including these two sites, the furthest distance is approximately four kilometers (about two and a half miles, between the Berlin Wall Memorial and the Jewish Museum). It should also be noted that Unter den Linden, which is a historic street with the TV Tower at one end and the Brandenburg Gate at the other, occupies roughly the center of every map of the city included in these guidebooks, giving these particular sites extra significance for orientation purposes.

As can be gleaned from the large number of sites listed above and the minimal area they occupy, the guidebooks and websites recommend locations that are fairly concentrated and formulate the tourist's conception of the city center. Furthermore, because the images and histories of these sites are disseminated through guidebooks and websites, tourists build their anticipation of them. In going to

Berlin, tourists will want to see these sights/sites, which forces them to have a center-oriented perspective of the city.

VI. CIRCULATION AND ACCESS IN THE TOURIST CENTER

Not only is the density of recommended sites in the center high, the accessibility to these sites is extensive. The city's public transportation system makes it possible for tourists to access these sites easily and increases their ability to circulate between them. Berlin's public transportation consists of five forms: regional rail, the S-bahn, the U-bahn, trams, and buses, all of which use the same ticketing system. The regional rail is a traditional railroad (as well as the ICE, Berlin's high-speed train). The S-bahn is similar to a subway system, although many of the S-bahn lines are above ground. The U-bahn is also similar to a subway system, with most of the U-bahn lines below ground. Trams are equivalent to street trolleys. The transportation system is divided into concentric zones, Zone A in the center of the city, Zone B surrounding it, and Zone C being the final outlying concentric zone at the periphery of the city. Despite the number of transportation options, guidebooks largely recommend the S-bahn and the U-bahn. Indeed, if books include transportation maps, they include the Berlin spider metro map, which is an abstracted and simplified visual representation of the relationship between the different lines and only identifies the S-bahn, U-bahn, and regional lines.²⁸ The *Knopf MapGuide* alone includes a bus map, although it is fairly abstract and does not include street names or the location of bus stops, rendering it essentially useless without further information.

Nonetheless, presenting limited options for transportation is consistent with what tourists want. Kinsella and Caulfield examine the public transportation system of Dublin and determine the significance of simplifying it and its presentation to tourists.²⁹ Because tourists are already absorbing an immense amount of information while touring a new city, minimizing the effort, which includes the physical, cognitive, and affective effort necessary to understand a transportation system, is imperative to creating a

²⁸ To see the Berlin spider metro map, visit Berlin's transportation website: <http://www.bvg.de/index.php/de/index.html>.

²⁹ Kinsella, James, and Brian Caulfield, "An Examination of the Quality and Ease of Use of Public Transportation in Dublin from a Newcomer's Perspective," *Journal of Public Transportation* 14/1 (2011), 69.

good tourist experience.³⁰ Thus, tourists will want to “learn” a minimal number of systems, which in this case appears to be the S-bahn/U-bahn system (and perhaps the regional rail system for day trips).

Although tourists are encouraged by tourist resources to only use the S-bahn and U-bahn, this does not at all limit their access to the city’s center. There are numerous stations in and among these recommended sites. Within the area containing the sites recommended by all guidebooks, there are a total of sixteen stations, some of which have access to both S-bahn and U-bahn lines. From my own experience, I found that the most useful stations in Mitte were the following [Table 2]:

Table 2. List of important Mitte S-bahn and U-bahn stations.

Station	U-Bahn Lines	S-Bahn Lines
Potsdamer Platz	U2	S1, S2
Brandenburger Tor	U55	S1, S2
Friedrichstraße	U6	S1, S2, S5, S7/75, S9
Hackescher Markt		S5, S7/75, S9
Alexanderplatz	U2, U5, U8	S5, S7/75, S9

The letters and numbers in the columns next to the station names denote the different S-bahn (e.g. S1) and U-bahn (e.g. U2) lines that stop at that station. From this information, it can be appreciated that Friedrichstraße and Alexanderplatz are two main transportation hubs and that there are numerous S-bahn and U-bahn lines that run along or through Mitte. Therefore, the tourist can easily access the central sites through the numerous stations in Mitte. Because most of the sixteen stations are located along the edges of Mitte, rather than in the heart of the center, walking is the preferred method of transportation here. Still, tourists can use these stations along the edges to go from one end of the center to the other, which further expedites access to the numerous sites located there.

³⁰ Kinsella and Caulfield, “An Examination of the Quality and Ease of Use of Public Transportation,” 75.

Once the tourist reaches Mitte, where one is predestined to stay due to the anticipation developed by tourist resources, the movement within is characterized by freedom, and makes walking an attractive option. This freedom is made possible by numerous factors. The most important is the availability of information. Leaving any of these transportation stations in Mitte, and from any exit from the station, tourists are immediately bombarded with signs that direct one to all of the proximate sites [Figure 3]. Because of the availability of information, the tourist is in the perfect position to wander. These signs, which continue to punctuate the landscape beyond the stations' exits, enable the tourist to wander “knowledgeably.”



Figure 3. Examples of information-laden signposts (starting at top left and moving clockwise) in front of the Hackescher Markt station, Friedrichstraße station, the Brandenburg Gate, and Potsdamer Platz.

These signs, used in conjunction with city maps, give the tourist in the center the ability to go anywhere with little effort. Numerous scholars have recognized the significance of maps for tourist interaction with the built environment. Tourist maps are themselves an idealization of the environment in plan form in an attempt to fulfill its role of aiding and guiding the tourist.³¹ This idealization is achieved through deliberate omissions, simplifications, and the points of emphasis chosen by the creators of the map, and through these choices tourist maps become illustrative of the “complex relationships of space, identity, representation, and intertextuality.”³² Tourists then actively engage with maps to facilitate their interaction with and movement in and through the built environment, and as their perspective of the built environment changes through learning about it, each interaction with their map is different.³³

Accordingly, maps become an active and evolving aid

The city map provided by the public transportation system organization (BVG), which can be obtained for free at any S-bahn or U-bahn station, reveals the same center-orientation as the guidebooks’ maps, placing the Brandenburg Gate almost perfectly in the center. Additionally, this map uses small, simplified images of important sites to mark their locations, making them immediately more visible. The small images also make it easy to see that there is a distinct cluster of significant sites in the center, for the images become more dispersed towards the edges of the map. By giving an image to these important sites, the map deemphasizes the interstitial zones between them, underscoring these spaces as mere “space” and, thus, insignificant and overlooked. Hence, the BVG city map also promotes focus on the center and the important sites within it.

Because of the easy physical access to the center through the plethora of S-bahn and U-bahn stations and the ability to walk assuredly in this district to the next sight/site on the list after a quick glance at directional signage and the use of maps, the tourist can circulate in Mitte freely and wander with confidence. In addition to this freedom of circulation, the density of important tourist sites in this area makes the tourist want to remain in the center. Truly, the center becomes even more attractive as the

³¹ Fariás, Ignacio, “Tourist Maps as Diagrams of Destination Space,” *Space and Culture* 14 (11 January 2011): 398-414.

³² Ibid., 399.

³³ Rossetto, Tania, “Embodying the Map: Tourism Practices in Berlin,” *Tourist Studies* 12 (20 April 2012): 32.

density of tourist sites is even greater than the guidebooks make it seem. Walking down Unter den Linden, which every guidebook recommends, the tourist will inevitably “stumble upon” other unique Berlin sites, such as Bebelplatz across from the German History Museum, where books were burned by Nazis in 1933; the Neue Wache further west, a memorial currently for the victims of WWII (although its history is extremely complex); and the many name-brand stores, tourist shops, interesting architecture, street performances, and the less fixed spectacles and incidents of street life of Friedrichstraße. This phenomenon, the ‘stumbling upon’ that occurs throughout Mitte, makes being in the center even more attractive to the tourist, particularly given that efficiency has been found to be one of the driving motivations in trip planning.³⁴ Furthermore, considering efficiency and this stumble upon effect, touring the center can be thought of as an experience in itself. Thus, tourists may come to Berlin’s center not only to see the disparate sites that are present in the center but also to participate in the experience of moving through and around Berlin’s center, stumbling upon and discovering these ancillary sites.

VII. IMAGEABILITY OF THE CENTER

All of these factors – developed anticipation of the tourist sites in the center, easy access to them, availability of information through signs and maps, and freedom of circulation within the center – combine in a very important way; they make Berlin’s center easy to “image.” In his book *The Image of the City*, Kevin Lynch suggests that cities have varying degrees of imageability. This “imageability” is created through the combination and interaction of five features: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks.³⁵ Paths are components of the built environment along which people move, such as transit lines and sidewalks. Edges are boundaries in the built environment and can be created by physical barriers, such as a river, or psychologically, such as a shift between neighborhoods made perceptible by a change in architecture. Districts are larger sections of the city that can be entered, sensed as distinct from the area around it, such as a historic district or commercial-business district. Nodes are points that a

³⁴ Abbaspour and Samadzadegan, “Itinerary Planning in Multimodal Urban Transportation Network,” 1900.

³⁵ Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960), 46.

person can enter, inhabit, congregate in, and move through, such as a subway station or a plaza. Finally, landmarks are points in the built environment that stand out, either through their architecture or their significance to the community, and can be used for orientation, such as a town's cathedral or Berlin's TV Tower.³⁶ Lynch concludes from his studies of Los Angeles, Boston, and Jersey City that strong images occur when there is a density of these features, a clarity and rigidity to their organization, and vivaciousness to their character.³⁷ For Lynch, a strong image is important because it makes it possible for people to interact more easily with the built environment, which then makes them want to linger within it. For tourists, imageability is particularly important because it enables them to become familiar with the unfamiliar landscape of the city they are touring quickly and easily.³⁸

The landscape of Berlin's center exhibits all of these features. First, there are numerous paths. Unter den Linden, the primary example, is extremely prominent in both the actual environment and in tourists' minds due to tourist resources and the street's historical role. There are secondary paths between the main S-bahn and U-bahn stations and Unter den Linden, as well as between the Brandenburg Gate and Potsdamer Platz. Unlike the rest of Berlin, this portion of the city's street system largely follows a grid pattern, which makes these paths clear and easy to "image" and navigate. The edges of the city's center are comprised of some physical features of the natural environment form edges, such as the Landwehr Canal south of Checkpoint Charlie and the River Spree to the north of the Reichstag. Similarly, the Tiergarten forms a kind of edge on the western side of the city's center, although this is obviously a permeable edge. Karl-Marx Allee forms an eastern edge because it is such a large road, accommodating more cars and faster speeds than other roads in Mitte, which makes tourists wary of crossing it. The district is the city's center itself. As the tourist moves away from the city's center, the environment changes, marking the center as distinct from the surrounding landscape. There are numerous nodes within the center. Some of the primary examples are Pariser Platz, in front of the Brandenburg Gate, and

³⁶ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 47.

³⁷ Ibid., 90.

³⁸ Boutros, Alexandra, "The Spirit of Traffic: Navigating Faith in the City" in *Circulation and the City: Essays on Urban Culture*, ed. Alexandra Boutros and Will Straw, (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 126.

Alexanderplatz, as well as the plaza around the base of the TV Tower. The various S-bahn and U-bahn stations are also significant nodes. Finally, the landmarks are the most vibrant features of the city's center. The landmarks in Berlin's center are comprised of the sites recommended to tourists, and the most effective landmarks are those that have interesting architecture and are unique to Berlin. Tourists are well acquainted with the appearance of these landmarks and their distinctive qualities before even arriving to the city because of their research prior to arrival. The primary landmarks of Berlin's center are the Brandenburg Gate and the TV Tower. The latter, whose architecture is extremely unique and whose history is intricately associated with Berlin's division during the Cold War, is an especially important landmark because it is visible nearly everywhere in the city due to the relatively flat terrain of Berlin and the regulations limiting building heights. As a result, tourists and residents alike constantly use the TV Tower as a point of reference, able to immediately understand their location with respect to the city's center. Other important landmarks include the Reichstag, the Holocaust Memorial, the skyscrapers of Potsdamer Platz (particularly the Sony Center), and the remains of the Berlin Wall, as well as the Berliner Dom, the New Synagogue, the Jewish Museum, the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, and the Victory Column in the Tiergarten. The combination of these features result in a fairly complete "image" of the city's center, diagrammed below [Figure 4].

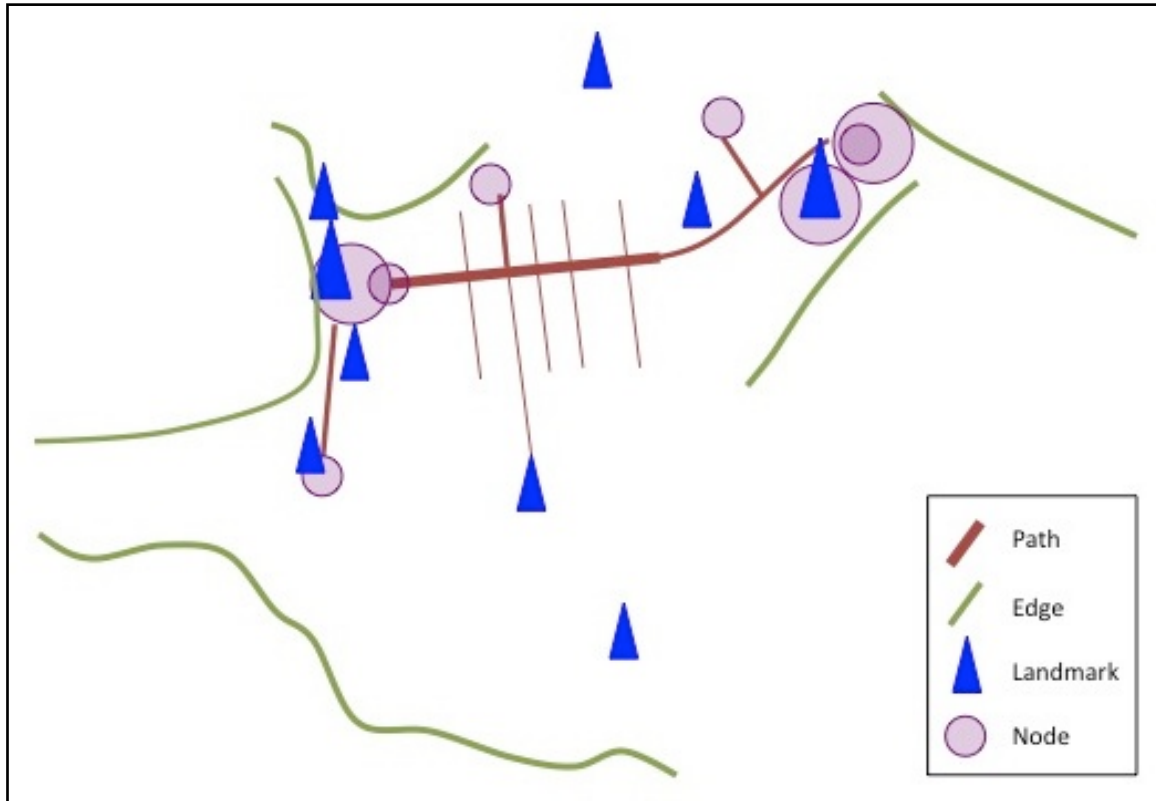


Figure 4. Diagram of the tourist's image of Berlin's center using the features outlined by Lynch.

VIII. THE PERIPHERY

The above illustrates that all of the features that merge to form a strong image are present in the city's center (the center being Lynch's district feature itself). Still, the landmarks are the most significant feature for enabling tourists to create the center's image because they are so well acquainted with them even before arriving to the city. Although these sites, clustered in the center, are recognized by tourist resources as being the most important, there are also key sites outside of the city's center, sites that lay in the periphery. These sites also contribute to the city's identity, despite not being made visible in the same way as the sites in the center. Two examples of significant peripheral sites are the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park and the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen. Analyzing the circulation through and access to these will demonstrate the distinction between the tourist environment of the center and that of the periphery.

The War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park was constructed between 1947 and 1949 and became the largest Soviet war memorial in Germany and the largest outside of the Soviet Union.³⁹ The memorial was created to remember not only the Soviet soldiers that died during World War II but also to immortalize the Soviet army's victory in Germany.⁴⁰ With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Federal Republic of Germany signed a treaty with the Russian Federation, ensuring the maintenance of the memorial so that it may have a presence in Berlin's landscape for future generations.⁴¹ The site continues to be a site of pilgrimage for Russians and those that still identify with East Germany. Additionally, the site is still used today for memorial events.⁴²

The Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen is on a site that was initially appropriated by the Nazi regime in 1938 to be used by a social welfare agency.⁴³ Surviving the war, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) obtained the site and turned it into one of several "special camps," which were used to intern Nazis and criminals of war and any opponents of the Soviet system.⁴⁴ This particular "camp," where prisoners were interrogated and detained before being sentenced and transferred to other prisons, was part of a larger "Restricted Area" several city blocks in size, which was walled-in and made invisible on city maps. The "camp" was opened in 1945, was transferred to the East German Interior Ministry in 1950, and remained open until 1990, housing some 12,000 prisoners throughout its existence between 1950 and 1990.⁴⁵ By the end of 1992, the prison complex was placed under protection as a historical site and turned into a memorial and documentation center, becoming an important site of learning for German students.⁴⁶

³⁹ Stangl, Paul, "The Soviet War Memorial in Treptow, Berlin," in *Geographical Review* 93/2 (April 2003): 217.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 214.

⁴¹ Ibid., 230.

⁴² Mischa Gabowitsch, e-mail message to author, 8 November 2013. Gabowitsch is a sociologist and historian whose research focuses on Soviet and post-Soviet memorials (for more information, visit Gabowitsch's website at <http://gabowitsch.net/de/>).

⁴³ Verheyen, Dirk, *United City, Divided Memories* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 164.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 165.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 167.

IX. THE PERIPHERY AND TOURIST RESOURCES

These two sites clearly contribute to our understanding of Berlin's history and are illustrative of important moments in it, but through an examination of how these sites are presented, or rather how they are ignored by tourist resources, the omnipresence of the tourist enclave in the city's center and relative disregard for sites on the periphery can be further discerned. In the four guidebooks reviewed for this study, the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen is only mentioned in two out of the four. In the *Lonely Planet guide*, it is referenced in the section dedicated to sites that are not recognized as "top sights" in the Friedrichshain neighborhood (although the prison is not in Friedrichshain, but rather the district further east, Hohenschönhausen). The reference, however, is visibly segregated in the text itself through formatting in a section labeled "Worth a Detour: Stasi Sights in East Berlin."⁴⁷ It is also the second of two sites mentioned in this little blurb, the first being the Stasi Museum. Similarly, the Stasi prison is recommended as an afterthought in the description of the Stasi Museum in Mitte in *Rick Steves' guide*.⁴⁸ In this brief description, it is made clear that the prison is in the city's periphery because it is suggested that the tourist call ahead to confirm the English tour is happening "before making the trip" and barely explains how to get there, except that it can be reached by "various trams."⁴⁹ The Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park is only mentioned in one of the guidebooks. It is recommended in the same revealing "Worth a Detour" format as the Stasi prison in the Kreuzberg & Northern Neukölln neighborhoods section of the *Lonely Planet guide*.⁵⁰ It should be noted that the *Lonely Planet guide* is the most detailed of the four guidebooks, being about one and a half times the length of the *Rick Steves' guide* (335 pages versus 213 pages), the second most extensive of the four guidebooks.

Because guidebooks are generally meant to be easily transportable, their length and amount of content is somewhat limited. Websites, however, do not have the same size limitations that the hard copies do, which means they have the opportunity to be much more thorough. As a result, many of the

⁴⁷ Schulte-Peevers, Andrea, *Lonely Planet: Berlin* (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd, 2013), 171.

⁴⁸ Steves, Rick, *Rick Steves' Snapshot: Berlin* (Berkeley, CA: Avalon Travel, 2013), 62.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Schulte-Peevers, *Lonely Planet*, 152.

websites explored for this study did discuss these two periphery sites, although not all of them did: the *Fodor's Travel* website does not recognize either memorial.⁵¹ In contrast, the *visitBerlin* website, Berlin's official tourism website, discusses both. Still, on the *visitBerlin* website, the Soviet War Memorial in Treptower Park can be found only through a direct search or by browsing the hundreds of sights in the "Sights A-Z" portion of the website, which means the tourist must know about the site's existence before finding it on the website. The former Stasi prison is not even included in this list of sites, although it can be discovered in the subsection of the website that explores those associated with the Berlin Wall. Interestingly, the significance of both of these sites is made quite clear in their descriptions: the Soviet war memorial is the largest and most central Soviet war memorial in Germany, and the website claims, of the former Stasi prison, that "it would be hard to find another site in Germany so intricately linked with the history of political persecution in the Soviet Occupation Zone and the German Democratic Republic."⁵² Yet information about these sites is fairly inaccessible on the website. On the *Lonely Planet* website, the two sites are similarly buried, only found by browsing through the 278 sights under the "Sights" tab.⁵³ On the *TripAdvisor* website, the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen is ranked #11 of the 417 attractions the website outlines in Berlin; however, information about the prison can only be found by browsing through the attractions—it is not included in any of the pages that outline suggested sites.⁵⁴ Thus, not only are the sites in the center emphasized as "top sights" or "must-see" places, but important sites in the periphery are not even mentioned or are only briefly acknowledged, relegating these sites into the periphery of tourists' minds.

What results from this emphasis on the center and overlooking of the periphery in tourist resources is a magnification of the distinction between the two. Moreover, this distinction is reinforced by

⁵¹ "Berlin Travel Guide," Fodor's Travel, 2014, <http://www.fodors.com/world/europe/germany/berlin/>.

⁵² "Soviet Memorial Treptow," Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, <http://www.visitberlin.de/en/spot/soviet-memorial-treptow>; "Gedenkstätte Berlin Hohenschönhausen," Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, <http://www.visitberlin.de/en/spot/gedenkstaette-berlin-hohenschoenhausen>.

⁵³ "Sights in Berlin," Lonely Planet, 2014, <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/germany/berlin/sights>.

⁵⁴ "Things to do in Berlin," TripAdvisor, 2014, Accessed 22 February 2013, <http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g187323-Activities-Berlin.html#TtD>.

features in the built environment. By investigating access to and circulation within these two periphery sites, the distinction between the central tourist enclave and the periphery is further solidified.

X. CIRCULATION AND ACCESS TO THE SOVIET WAR MEMORIAL AND CEMETERY

The Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park (Sowjetisches Ehrenmal im Treptower Park) is located approximately seven kilometers (about four and a half miles) from the center, measured from the Friedrichstraße station in Mitte. Leaving from this station, one of the main transportation hubs in the center, the tourist must take two S-bahn lines and walk about fifteen minutes to access the memorial. The first S-bahn ride, from Friedrichstraße to Ostkreuz on either the S5 or S7/75, averages about fourteen minutes in length, and the second S-bahn ride, from Ostkreuz to Treptower Park or to Plänterwald on either the S8, S9, or S41, averages about two minutes. Accordingly, the trip to the memorial is between thirty and forty-five minutes in length (depending on how long the tourist must wait for the S-bahn at each station). For reference, the walk from Alexanderplatz to Museum Island, a common walk for the tourist to make in Mitte, takes about fifteen minutes, and the walk from Museum Island down Unter den Linden to the Brandenburg Gate, possibly the most traversed path in Berlin, is about twenty minutes without stopping. Hence, the trip to the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park is not terribly longer in length than “trips” within the center. Still, despite the relatively short length of the trip and distance from the center, there is a distinguishable feeling of leaving the center and entering the city’s periphery along this trip. This perception is engendered by cues in the built environment that the tourist detects.

The impression of leaving the center begins in the Friedrichstraße station. The station is very large and many different forms of transportation intersect at this point. Five different S-bahn lines, an U-bahn line, and various regional rail lines stop here, and there is a tram stop just outside of the station. The platform for the S5 and S7/75 lines is above ground. The platform is one of many in this above ground part of the station, which is large and open. The multiple platforms, some of which are used by regional lines, make this part of the station feel more like a traditional railway station, rather than an inner-city

metro station. This impression shifts the tourist's mentality and makes this trip feel more like a *trip* rather than simply an inner-city hop.

The ride from Friedrichstraße to Ostkreuz strengthens this shift in mentality. Between Friedrichstraße and Alexanderplatz, the tourist can see various traditional Berlin sites outside of the car's window, including Museum Island, the Berliner Dom, and the TV Tower. The density of the built environment around the track, with large and important buildings right up against it, maintains the feeling of being in a central urban location. After leaving the Alexanderplatz station, however, there is an unmistakable change in the built environment. The S-bahn pulls away from the station, surrounded by concrete and the urban landscape, and then suddenly the space around the S-bahn track becomes open. There are numerous tracks running parallel to the S5/7/75 line, surrounded by grass, and the wide space is lined by what appear to be warehouses and factories for companies like Metro and Dammisol. These buildings are perceived as such by their architectural style, for they are essentially large boxes, reminiscent of the architecture of IKEA stores [Figure 5].



Figure 5. On the left, the Pergamon Museum is seen just outside of the S-bahn car. On the right, the space is open and lined with warehouses.

Reaching the Ostkreuz station, where the tourist must transfer S-bahn lines, itself a deterrent for tourists to make the trip out into the periphery, the large scale of the station and the numerous S-bahn lines accommodated in it cultivate the same feeling of participating in a trip rather than inner-city

transportation. The S-bahn ride from Ostkreuz to the Treptower Park station is very short, for it is just one stop further. Yet on this brief ride the S-bahn crosses the River Spree, and looking north up the river, the TV Tower can be seen far off in the distance, confirming the tourist's sense of displacement from the city center.

Getting off at the Treptower Park station, the platform is above ground and surrounded by trees. The tourist must descend into the station to enter the park, which bumps right up against the eastern side of the station. Instead of being bombarded by signs outlining the different sites in the vicinity, the tourist must search for information. Despite the multiple exits from the station, there is only one signpost with information for the pedestrian tourist. On one of the two signs on this signpost, as opposed to the three or four signs typically seen on a signpost in Mitte, the direction and distance (850 meters) to the "Sowjetisches Ehrenmal im Treptower Park" is explicated.

Proceeding down the path that the sign indicates, the tourist ends up in a parking lot. Looking for more information, he or she sees another sign directing one towards the memorial, although this sign is located around the corner from where the path intersects the parking lot, creating a brief moment in which the tourist does not know where to go. This lack of information greatly contrasts the availability of information in the center. In Mitte, the plethora of signs allows the tourist to wander "knowledgeably" and become familiar with the space, but the minimal number of signs used on the tourist's path to this memorial makes it impossible for the tourist to wander without consulting a map and expending extra effort. Walking along a larger, busier road (Puschkinallee), the memorial's impressive entrance quickly comes into view.

Tourists are also encouraged to access the memorial from the Plänterwald station, which is one station beyond the Treptower Park station. The circulation to the entrance of the memorial from this station further exemplifies the control to which tourists are subjected due to the lack of information provided in the built environment. Examining the built environment along this path also reveals how the distinction between the center and the periphery can be easily recognized. The Plänterwald station is fairly rundown and is surrounded by trees, which conceal any sight of urban landscape and make it

difficult for tourists to remember they are just twenty minutes outside of Berlin's center. In the plaza immediately in front of the station, there are some stands, rather than the shops seen in the Mitte stations, and bikes fill the bike racks provided along the edge of the plaza. There is also a parking lot, a sight never seen near the stations in Mitte, and its presence suggests that commuters use this station, associating this station with the suburbs and, consequently, the periphery.

Along the edge of the parking lot, which tourists must pass to get to the main street that can be glimpsed past the parking lot and trees, a sign signifies the direction and distance (2050 meters) to the memorial. The walk to the memorial's entrance takes the tourist through a residential neighborhood, (which, along with the greenery and commuter parking lot, continues to make the space feel suburban); through a little town center consisting of a couple of buildings and a historic town hall; and up Puschkinallee, the street that runs through the park [Figure 6]. Signs are used minimally to direct tourists, only indicating where they should turn, similarly restricting the tourist's freedom to wander.



Figure 6. The cars, greenery, and detached buildings create a suburban atmosphere along the walk to the memorial.

XI. MOVEMENT WITHIN THE SOVIET WAR MEMORIAL AND CEMETERY

The movement within the memorial is similarly choreographed. The deliberate design of the memorial completely controls the visitors' movement through it and, consequently, their physical experience of it.

An aerial view of the memorial reveals an entirely symmetrical plan with two identical entrances, one along Am Treptower Park, the road along the southern edge of the park, and one on Puschkinallee [Figure 7]. The symmetry of the memorial's plan is not immediately apparent to the visitor, however, as the memorial's perimeter is entirely surrounded by trees, separating and isolating it from the rest of the park. The central axis of the memorial runs relatively parallel to Puschkinallee, and two secondary axes, mirrored about this central axis, intersect at its northern end. These secondary axes form the paths between the two entrances of the park and the main axis of the memorial.

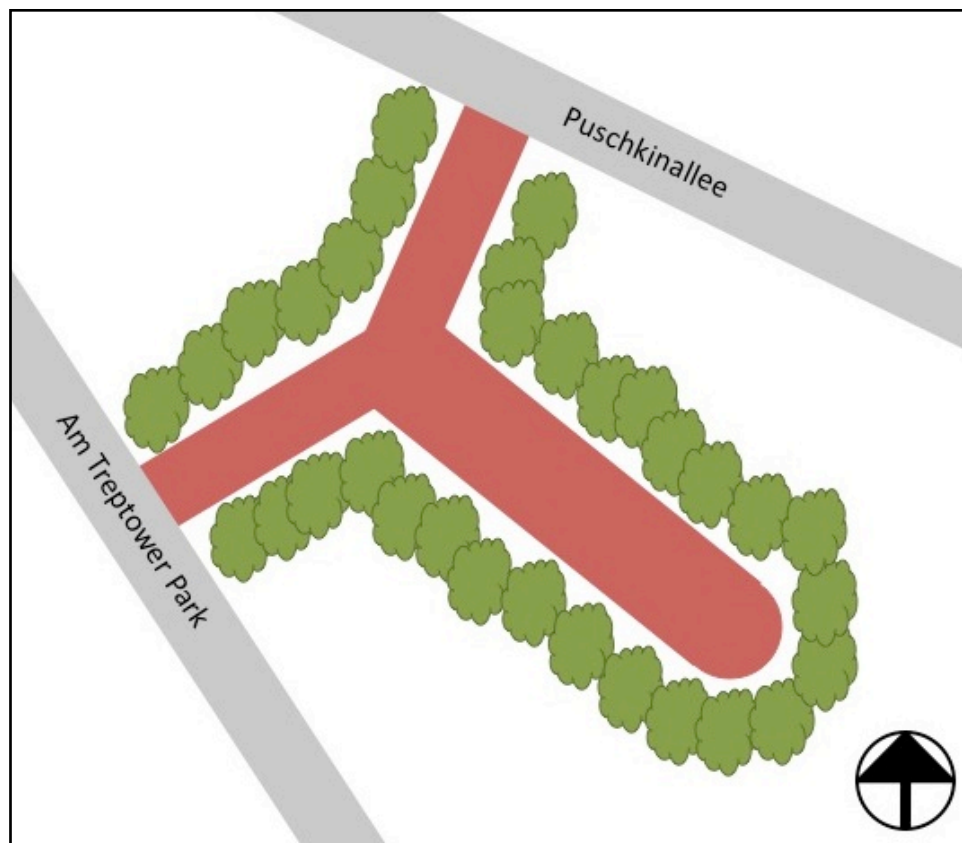


Figure 7. Aerial view of the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park.

A large stone arch is set back from Puschkinallee several meters, its face parallel to the street. Situated at the apex of a semicircle of stone hardscape, the arch is austere and powerful, clearly marking the entrance to the memorial. On the faces of the piers facing the street are identical relief carvings, each grouping consisting of a hammer and sickle within an encircled Soviet star above an olive branch. At the

top of each pier is carved the years “1941-1945.” The dedication of the memorial appears above the arch, carved in Russian on the left and in German on the right.⁵⁵ The two texts are centered about a laurel wreath, in the middle of which the year “1945” is carved. Even without being able to read the German or Russian text, the years and the recognizable symbols inform the viewer that this memorial is for Soviet soldiers during World War II [Figure 8].



Figure 8. Entrance arch to the Soviet war memorial.

The trees that surround the entire memorial form a dense forest behind the arch, save for a wide stone path directly behind it, which is shaded by the trees. Because of the angling of the two entrance paths, all that can be seen when walking towards the center of the memorial is a sculpture against a backdrop of foliage, framed by the branches arching over the path. The sculpture, which is bathed in sun, draws the visitor into the memorial, the walk on the shaded path granting a moment for mental preparation and reflection [Figure 9]. Just before reaching the plaza where the two secondary axes

⁵⁵ The dedication in German is “Ewiger Ruhm den Helden, die für die Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit der sozialistischen Heimat gefallen sind,” which translates to “Eternal glory to the heroes who died for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland.”

intersect with the central axis, the forest of trees on both sides recedes and a light, open space is revealed. In the center of the plaza, which is formed by the intersection of the three axes several meters beyond the end of the trees and comprised of white stone, the sculpture of weeping Mother Russia is positioned, facing south down the central axis. Moving towards Mother Russia, tall, narrow trees to the south act as a screen, hiding what lies in front of the large but intimate sculpture.



Figure 9. Path between the memorial's entrance and Mother Russia.

Turning to face the direction Mother Russia faces, the primary axis of the memorial is revealed. Having been screened by the tall trees, the monumental scale of the memorial is finally appreciated [Figure 10]. Before Mother Russia, there is a wide, white stone path and two massive triangular features appear at its end. The slight positive grade of the path draws the visitor forward towards these architectural elements. They are several meters high and made of red stone, and they are positioned on a stratified rectangular terrace made of light gray stone. The faces of the triangles are perpendicular to the central axis and are situated so that the hypotenuse of each rises towards the central axis. In so doing, they

create a frame for the central path. In front of the vertical edge of each triangle, there are two nearly identical sculptures of kneeling soldiers facing each other across the path. The triangles are architectural representations of lowered Soviet flags, the abstract style of which greatly contrasts the classical architecture of the entrance arches [Figure 11]. On the face of each triangle, towards the highest point, a hammer and sickle is carved. Along the bottom edge of each triangle there is a carved message, in Russian on the left triangle and in German on the right.⁵⁶



Figure 10. Mother Russia facing down the central axis of the memorial.

⁵⁶ The message says, “Ewiger Ruhm den Kämpfern der Sowjetarmee, die ihr Leben hingegeben haben im Kampf für die Befreiung der Menschheit von faschistischer Knechtschaft,” which translates to “Eternal glory to the fighters of the Soviet Army, who have given their life in the struggle for the liberation of humanity from fascist slavery.”



Figure 11. Abstracted lowered Soviet flag with kneeling soldier.

These triangles form, in essence, a gate that beckons the visitor to move towards and through them. Walking towards the mournful soldiers and solemn but commanding gate, the final and main part of the memorial is revealed. Down an elaborate and monumental set of stairs on the southern side of the gate, there are five burial mounds laid out in a row extending south, which force the visitor to move towards the edges of the memorial. These burial mounds remind the visitor of the space's second function: that of a cemetery, for the bodies of soldiers are actually buried here. Each mound is rectangular in shape, and neatly trimmed bushes mark their perimeters. In the center of each burial mound is a raised rectangular bed of cut stone, on top of which lies a large sculpted wreath. Small paths that are comprised of mosaic depicting long straight laurel branches surround each of the five burial mounds, so that they are evenly spaced and a continuous path is created. Around the burial mounds and mosaic path, there is a wider stone path, along which are plinths, perhaps symbolically representing sarcophagi, eight along the northern edge of the stone path and eight along the southern edge. On the faces of these plinths are relief carvings illustrating moments from the historic narrative of the Soviet people during World War II,

including both moments of triumph and mourning. The detailed rendering of this narrative and the prominent size of the plinths and burial mounds force the visitor to respect the immense loss that is being recognized by this memorial [Figure 12]. What lies beyond the burial mounds, however, confirms the reason for this loss and draws the visitor to the end of the memorial space.



Figure 12. The five burial mounds and decorated plinth that line the walkway.

A large conical mound of earth covered in grass rises several meters high at the southern end of the memorial. At the top of the mound, there is a huge sculpture of a Soviet soldier carrying a child, smashing a swastika under his feet with a sword, illustrating the triumph over fascism (National Socialism, specifically) [Figure 13]. A wide set of steep stairs provides access from the stone path to the mausoleum below the massive sculpture where visitors leave flowers and memorabilia in remembrance. The interior of the mausoleum, which can be seen through a small, locked gate at the top of the stairs, is covered with vibrant mosaics illustrating mourning Soviet civilians and soldiers, and in the center of the mausoleum there is a tomb for a single soldier, representing all of the thousands of other soldiers that died

during the war. Around the exterior, there is a ring of carved soldiers and Soviet stars in laurel wreaths, as well as the years “1941-1945,” further confirming what is being memorialized.

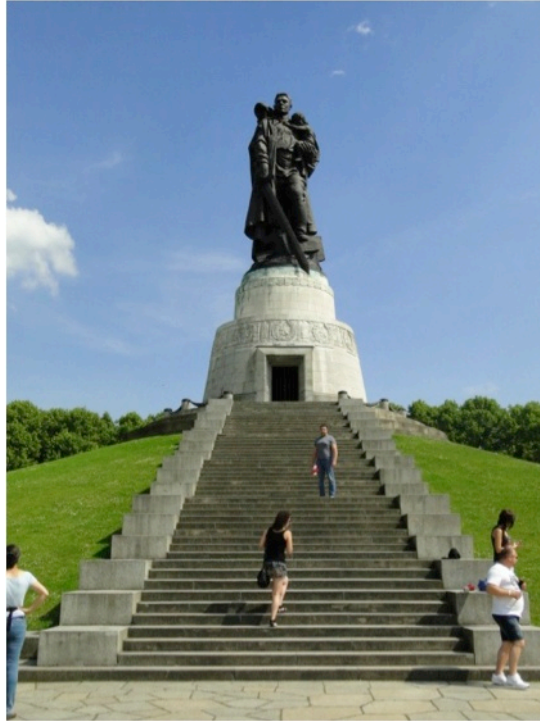


Figure 13. Monumental sculpture of Soviet soldier crushing a swastika and holding a liberated child.

A glance back towards the red stone gate and weeping Mother Russia conveys the sheer monumental scale of the memorial, as well as the rigidity in its design. This design results in the firm choreography of the space, which regulates how it is experienced. Nonetheless, the controlled experience of the memorial, the largest of its kind outside of the Soviet Union, is extremely powerful and compels the visitor to reflect, mourn, and remember. Yet, despite the power of the memorial and its deserved significance in Berlin’s memorial landscape, the tourist has limited access to and controlled circulation through it. These characteristics are intensified by the distinction between the center and periphery, for the ease of accessibility and freedom of circulation of the center emphasizes, through contrast, the difficult access and controlled circulation of the periphery.

XII. CIRCULATION AND ACCESS TO THE FORMER STASI PRISON

The contrast between how the tourist accesses and circulates through the periphery and how the tourist accesses and circulates through the center is similarly exemplified by the trip to the former Stasi prison memorial in Hohenschönhausen (Gedenkstätte Berlin Hohenschönhausen). The same feeling of leaving the center is conjured, as well as the feeling of limited circulation, although this constraint is perceived differently due to factors in the built environment. The former Stasi prison is slightly farther from the city's center than the Soviet war memorial in Treptower Park; it is approximately nine kilometers (about five and a half miles) from Hackescher Markt, one of the other main transportation stations in the center. Unlike the Soviet war memorial, this site is not accessible by S-bahn (or U-bahn), the two transportation systems that are promoted to the Berlin tourist. Instead, the tourist has to venture a new system to access the prison, taking a tram (the M5 or M6 from either Hackescher Markt or Alexanderplatz is recommended by the memorial's website) and then walking from either the Freienwalder Straße stop (on the M5 route) or from the Genslerstraße stop (on the M6 route).⁵⁷ The walk from either stop is about fifteen minutes, and the tram rides on the two routes averaged twenty-three minutes in length on the M5 and twenty-five minutes in length on the M6, combining to be about a forty-five minute trip, depending on wait times. The hour and a half round trip and the two hour guided tour quickly make a trip to the former Stasi prison the main activity of a single day.

Alexanderplatz, like the Friedrichstraße station, is also a collision of numerous transportation systems, although it is even more elaborate: the three U-bahn lines that stop at Alexanderplatz and their platforms are located below ground, spread out under the expansive plaza; the three S-bahn lines are located in a separate, large station, in which tourist amenities and food shops fill the ground floor and the platforms are located on the second floor; bus stops are positioned along the main streets that border the massive plaza complex; and there are tram stops in and around Alexanderplatz.

⁵⁷ "Getting Here" Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, http://en.stiftung-hsh.de/document.php?nav_id=CAT_232&subcat_id=CAT_248&recentcat=CAT_232&back=1&special=0

As discussed previously, tourists prefer to minimize their effort in using transportation systems. The tram system, however, uses a different sign system from the S-bahn and the U-bahn, and, consequently, the tourist has to learn a new communication system. While the system is not difficult to navigate, it is effort that must be expended, creating a mental block to using this transportation mode. Moreover, by using the tram system, tourists are straying away from what tourist resources have expressed to be the preferable transportation systems, removing them from their notion of the tourist experience in Berlin [Figure 14].



Figure 14. The tram lines that subtly cross Alexanderplatz. A typical tram stop and its signage.

Waiting at the tram stop and getting on the M5 tram, it becomes obvious to tourists that the tram system is used more by local Berlin residents than tourists. This is perceived by observing how the riders are dressed (work clothes), their age (there is greater disparity in age than on the S-bahn and U-bahn), the way the riders are acting (reading books or newspapers, doing work, talking on the phone, etc.), and by the number of people appearing to ride individually (as opposed to the groups or couples seen on the S-bahn and U-bahn). This realization makes tourists feel more isolated and anxious about standing out as tourists than on the S-bahn and U-bahn, where they are inevitably among others like them. By being on

this “local” system of transportation, tourists can sense they are leaving “tourist” Berlin and moving into Berlin’s periphery or “real” Berlin.

As on the S-bahn ride to Treptower Park, there is a similar decompression of the urban landscape on the tram out of Alexanderplatz, initially being surrounded by concrete and then moving into a more open space, characterized by grass and detached buildings. As the tram moves out into the periphery, the landscape continues to shift, becoming less congruous with the image of a central urban environment. Past the Landsberger Allee S-bahn station there is open space, greenery, clusters of row houses followed by gaps in the street facades, and detached buildings. Just before arriving at Freienwalder Straße, the landscape looks especially suburban due to the park to the north of the tram tracks and the detached buildings to the south of them [Figure 15].



Figure 15. Tram leaving the concrete landscape of Alexanderplatz. Approaching the Freienwalder Straße tram stop.

The “station” at the Freienwalder Straße stop is minimal, lacking a formal platform, although there is a shelter and tram stop sign to mark its location. The buildings and signs around the stop reveal that the built environment is not prepared for the tourist as it is in Mitte: there are very few restaurants, there is little English signage, and there is only one sign to direct tourists to the prison, although it appears to be made for drivers rather than pedestrians. There are noticeable exceptions that seem to be aimed towards the tourist: two fast food places, whose signs have English on them. Still, these two restaurants

are integrated with businesses that are very much not for the tourist, but rather for local Berlin residents, such as a toner store just behind the tram stop.

The walk to the prison, which is located in what was the “Restricted Area,” is entirely along Freienwalder Straße, which intersects Konrad-Wolf-Straße, the road on which the tramline runs. Moving eastward along Freienwalder Straße, apartments line the street, making it feel more like a back street compared to Konrad-Wolf-Straße, which is lined with mixed-use buildings. After several blocks, the tourist reaches the intersection of a busier street, where a single small blue sign to direct the pedestrian tourist towards the memorial is located. This is the first pedestrian sign the tourist encounters, and it is not particularly easy to see given its location on one of the islands in the middle of the road.

Upon crossing the intersection, the tourist passes a store with a parking lot, which makes this area feel suburban and local, rather than central and touristic. Just beyond this store, tourists enter the historic Restricted Area, although they may not be aware they have done so. Still, the environment noticeably changes, even if the tourist is not yet aware of the historic significance of this change, for the first building past the store is large and abandoned, made explicit by its boarded-up windows and the moss growing rampantly on its façade and side. Further along the road, there appear to be more abandoned and neglected buildings, and the street ultimately dead-ends about a hundred meters down. The combination of these observations gives the space the atmosphere of an alley (although the street is a normal width), and thus may make tourists feel unsafe.⁵⁸

Despite the alley-like atmosphere and dead-end, tourists know they are nearing the memorial, for they may happen to see the display board across the street in front of the abandoned building, which is one of many markers in the landscape discussing the history of the Restricted Area. If tourists miss this marker, however, the barbed wire on the top of the prison wall can be seen where the street dead-ends, and charter buses parked along this T-intersection announce one’s arrival at a tourist site. These charter buses reveal that specific groups of tourists are visiting this site, such as German students or those on

⁵⁸ Wilson, James Q., and George L. Kelling, “Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1982, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/>.

special packaged tours, but they mark a generalized tourist presence nonetheless. Still, even at the entrance to the memorial, the atmosphere of the space continues to feel peripheral, for looking north up Genslerstraße, the street that runs along the prison wall, there are more abandoned buildings and parked trucks, and to the south there are only trees, the prison wall, and just one large building across the street from the prison.

The experience on the M6 tram ride similarly encapsulates the perception of leaving the center and moving into the periphery. In fact, the M6 line follows the same tracks as the M5 until the intersection of Konrad-Wolf-Straße and Altenhofe Straße. At this point the M6 turns south and runs along Landsberger Allee. Still, leaving from Hackescher Markt further illustrates the local mentality of the tram system. Hackescher Markt is one of the main S-bahn stations in Mitte. The platform for the S-bahn is raised above ground and sits on top of a one-story brick station, which creates a physical barrier in the landscape, although permeable through barrel vaults that span the width of the station. To the north of the station, the landscape is largely intended for the tourist. There is a large pedestrian plaza lined with restaurants with outdoor seating, and at the northeast corner of the plaza there is a busy intersection, at which the highly recommended tourist site Hackesche Höfe is located, a labyrinth of shops, galleries, and exhibits in a historic courtyard complex.

The tram station, however, is to the south of the S-bahn station, on the opposite side of the plaza and Hackesche Höfe. This side of the station feels distinctly like the backside of the station due to the lack of restaurant entrances and outdoor seating. There are shops across from the S-bahn station, but the tram tracks that criss-cross here force the environment to be more open. Additionally, there are no buildings immediately surrounding the tram stop platform; there are only trees. Thus, instead of being in the midst of the tourist environment on the other side of the S-bahn tracks, the tram stop is removed from the tourist setting and placed in the “backspace” of the environment, advancing the association of this transportation system with local residents [Figure 16].



Figure 16. The pedestrian plaza on the north side of the Hackescher Markt S-bahn station versus the backside of the station, viewed from the tram stop.

Riding on the tram, tourists can notice the same signs that signify that this is a transportation system used more by local residents, and as the tram turns onto Landsberger Allee, the tourist is confronted with an environment that is nondescript in character. Landsberger Allee is a wide road, obviously built for faster travel with its numerous lanes, and is reminiscent of a highway. The environment around the wide road compliments it with openness: greenery and few buildings. It is along this road that the Genslerstraße stop is located, positioned on an island between Landsberger Allee and the tram tracks. Across the wide “highway” there are a scattering of buildings in either direction, and across the tram tracks there is a large building whose architecture and store signs are reminiscent of a small shopping mall, which further supports the feeling of being removed from the city center.

There is, again, only a single sign to direct tourists towards the memorial, and it is located around the corner of the southern façade of the “mall,” making it extremely difficult to find. Moving around this corner and onto Genslerstraße, the tourist gets the impression of being in the periphery because the street is lined with apartments, suggesting this is a more residential area. After walking several blocks down Genslerstraße, another blue sign for the memorial is encountered at the intersection with Liebenwalder Straße. After crossing this intersection, the built environment changes again. On the western side of Genslerstraße, past the hotel at the corner that is used as a landmark in the directions on the memorial’s website, the area is fenced-off and lined by trees, through which abandoned buildings can be seen. To the

east, there is a street grid lined with detached single-family homes, which look decidedly suburban. These houses are well maintained and nearly all have fences around the perimeters of their yards. The odd combination of abandoned buildings, suggesting disuse, and small suburban homes with their fences, which seek to provide privacy, gives the environment an atmosphere of exclusivity [Figure 17].



Figure 17. Abandoned buildings behind fences and suburban homes behind their fences.

Nevertheless, the tourist soon encounters the same kind of display board seen on the final block of Freienwalder Straße before reaching the prison's entrance. On this path along Genslerstraße, there are a couple of display boards that discuss various features of the Restricted Area. Their locations are more prominent, strongly pronouncing the presence of a tourist site. Just beyond these display boards, the prison wall abruptly comes into view, across the street from the neat grid of suburban looking homes [Figure 18].



Figure 18. The prison's western wall directly across the street from fenced-off homes.

XIII. MOVEMENT WITHIN THE FORMER STASI PRISON

As with the memorial in Treptower Park, the movement through the Stasi prison is choreographed and controlled, although this control is achieved through different means. Entering the prison complex, the tourist sees a large brick and stucco building, whose façade is covered in barred windows [Figure 19]. Along the interior of the prison wall, there are rooms filled with tourist amenities, such as the welcome center, bookstore, cafeteria, and seminar rooms, although these rooms look like they are used for storage due to their wide, wooden double doors. To move through the rest of the site beyond the welcome center, bookstore, and cafeteria, the tourist must participate in a guided tour. Only by participating in a tour do tourists gain access to the historic buildings of the prison complex, and then only to select rooms within the buildings. While there are several German tours a day, there is only one in English per day, for which the memorial site has been criticized as evidence that it is promoting a specific political agenda: that of

villainizing the German Democratic Republic and promoting the Federal Republic of Germany.⁵⁹ Even so, these tours are often led by former inmates, giving what is said there and the broader experience added authenticity.⁶⁰



Figure 19. Entering the prison complex.

The tour begins with the showing of a movie in one of the seminar rooms along the southern wall of the prison. The movie describes the history of the prison and the Restricted Area, and it briefly discusses life in the prison and victims of the Stasi at large. After the movie, the tour group is taken around the large brick and stucco building, one originally used by the Nazis. In the back of this building, which is called the “old” prison, the tour guide leads tourists into the basement to look at the prison cells known as the “U-Boot” or submarine cells. Small concrete cells line the hallway, whose low ceiling is made lower by the exposed pipes running along it. In these cells, some of which contain a wood platform

⁵⁹ Gaus, Simon, and Collete van der Ven, “A Needle in Red Flesh: The Dynamics Between a Former Stasi Prison and its Town,” Humanity in Action, 2014, <http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/30-a-needle-in-red-flesh-the-dynamics-between-a-former-stasi-prison-and-its-town>.

⁶⁰ “The Stasi-Prison,” Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, pamphlet.

for sleeping, inmates were detained for days. Some of the cells were partially filled with water to scare and psychologically torture the inmates, giving the cells their names.⁶¹

Moving back out into the courtyard, the tour guide mentions the relative lack of physical torture performed at this prison, asserting that the inmates were tortured psychologically. The “new” prison, which forms an incomplete “U” around the old prison, is a three-story stucco building. The rigid pattern of the barred windows on the building’s three main facades is interrupted by windows that run almost the full height of the building. If it were not for the tour guide, the entrance to the “new” prison would be invisible to the tourist. It is accessed through a garage in the ground floor. On display here is a specially designed truck, the kind used to pick up suspected opponents of the party. Just inside the entrance, the tourist sees a furnished room, complete with flowered wallpaper, tiled floor, carpeting, and a desk with a rotary phone on it. The guide stresses the material authenticity of the room, specifically mentioning the original wallpaper [Figure 20].

⁶¹ “The Stasi-Prison,” Guided Tour, Gedenkstätte Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, Berlin, 19 June 2013.



Figure 20. Waiting room just inside of the garage of the “new” prison.

The tourists are herded down the hallway, passing the closed doors of old administrative rooms. Through a single door at the end, the guide leads them into the portion of the building that contains prison cells. Moving through this single door and then through another in a metal-barred partition, the stark white walls and the heavy metal doors of the cells greatly contrast the softer beige walls and tiled floor of the previous hallway and confirm the function of the space. The guide draws attention to how comfortable the cells look relatively speaking. Each is furnished with a sink and single bed with linens, and some have a desk and stool [Figure 21]. She uses this point to again emphasize that the torture that took place here was “psychological,” not physical.



Figure 21. Cell in the new prison, complete with bed linens, desk and stool.

Through a maze of additional hallways and stairwells, the guide shepherds the tourists to a hallway filled with interrogation rooms. All of the rooms are nearly identically, each furnished with a desk connected to a table, chairs for the interrogators and the inmate, carpeting, and curtains [Figure 22]. Here the tour guide draws attention to the original material and how, specifically, the frilly curtains give the room a fairly pleasant atmosphere.



Figure 22. Hallway full of interrogation rooms and an example an interrogation room's interior.

Exiting the “new” prison, the tourists follow the guide to a building along the prison wall, the prison’s infirmary, through which they pass to go to the last stop of the tour: the prisoner exercise yard. These concrete cells, called “tiger cages,” have ceilings open to the sky but for the wire mesh covering the top of the enclosure. The tour guide explains that these were places for the inmates to exercise and experience the outdoors, rather than sites of physical torture.

Even though tours of the former Stasi prison yield important insight into the role and functioning of the Stasi during the German Democratic Republic (GDR), accessing the site requires that the tourist (one who is not transported there with a special group on a charter bus), learn a new transportation system, one that is disconnected from the tourist experience of Berlin, forcing tourists to leave their perception of and degree of comfort within the “tourist” enclave. As a result, not only does the built environment along the tram ride inculcate the perception of leaving the tourist center, the transportation system itself creates this impression. Moreover, the circulation to the memorial moves the tourist through spaces that are not engaged with them, causing a sense of isolation due to the exclusive atmosphere that is created. This exclusivity – a site located in a private neighborhood -- makes tourists feel as though they are not allowed to wander, constraining their movement to a single path.

XIV. IMAGEABILITY OF THE PERIPHERY

Examining the circulation and access to these two memorial sites, the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park and the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen, demonstrates that there is a noticeable difference between the built environment of the center and that of the periphery. The central tourist enclave is designed so that tourists can interact with it more easily. This is achieved through many features, but most importantly those that combine to make the center “imageable,” allowing tourists to make the landscape of the center familiar quickly. In contrast, the built environment of the periphery is extremely difficult for tourists to “image,” due, in part, to the limited access to these sites, and constrained circulation pattern, reduced to a single path. One views the terrain between the station of departure in the

center and the stop from which tourists disembark through the distance of a tram or S-bahn window. Between these transportation stations and the memorial sites, the Lynchean features are few and banal, unlike the numerous and vivacious features of the center. The neighborhoods surrounding these periphery sites are not highlighted in tourist resources, so they do not have the ability to reference possible landmarks in the built environment for orientation, except for the memorial itself, which is not immediately visible at the stops from which tourists disembark, creating a sense of disorientation. The minimal number of signs used to direct tourists constrains them to use a single path predetermined by the city and discourages tourists to wander for fear of getting lost. The peripheral atmosphere around each site, supported by the at-times suburban landscape and sense of isolation, also contributes to tourists not wanting to leave the path laid out by the city because these areas do not feel appropriate for random wandering. This forces edges right up against the path, preventing deviation from it. There is no discernible district for tourists in the periphery because they are discouraged from wandering to look around. Finally, the only significant nodes for these tourists are the transportation stops from which they disembark on the single path to the site. The intersections at which the few signs for the memorials are located could also be considered important nodes. In comparison to the image created by the center, the image formed of the built environment around these periphery sites is minimal and incomplete [Figure 23] [Figure 24].

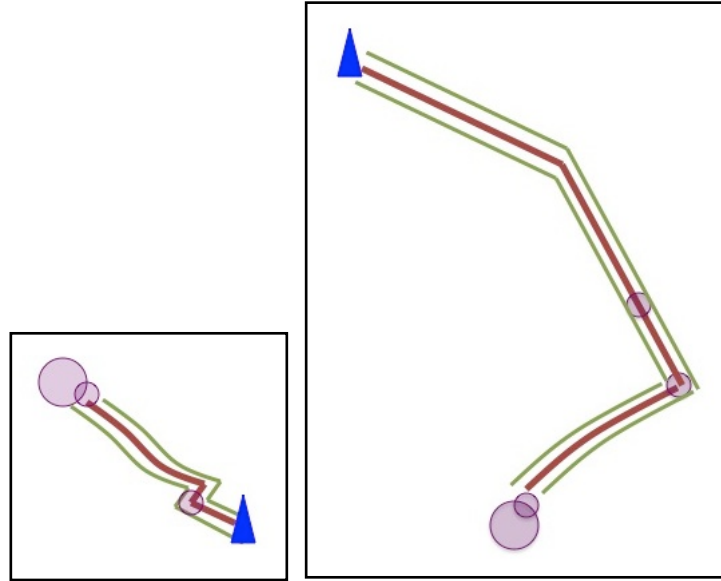


Figure 23. Diagram of the tourist's image of the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park (left is from Treptower Park S-bahn station and right is from the Plänterwald S-bahn station).

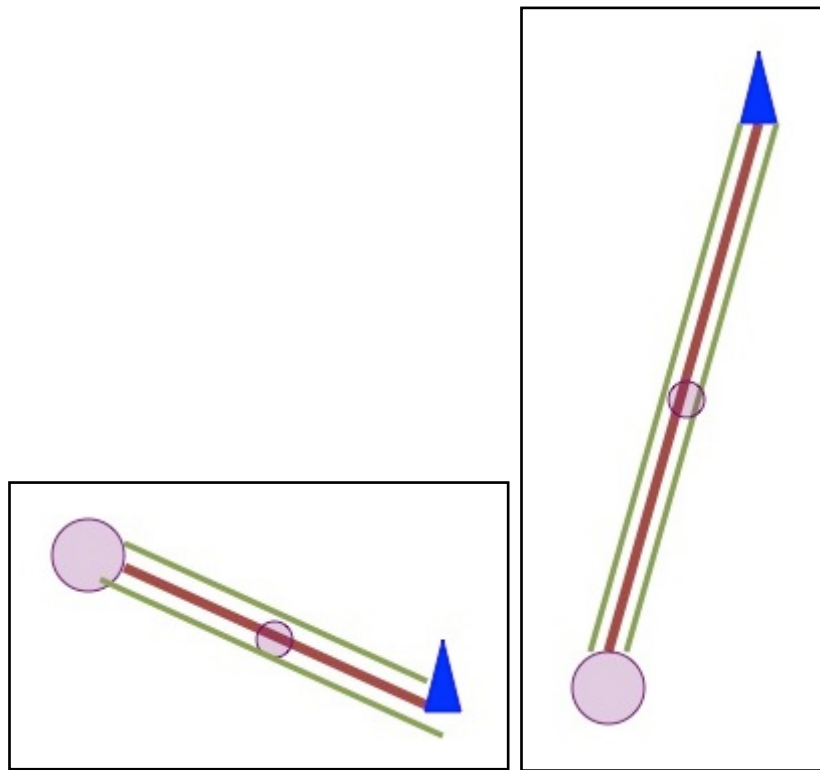


Figure 24. Diagram of the tourist's image of the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen (left is from the Freienwalder Straße tram stop and right is from the Genslerstraße tram stop).

XV. CONSIDERATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY

Still, despite the difficulty in interacting with the built environment of the periphery, tourists continue to visit these sites. The majority of the visitors to these sites are part of specific groups, such as Russian tourists visiting the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park or German students visiting the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen and would presumably access these sites through private transportation options, which suggests that these sites are aimed towards specific audiences versus the more general audience that the sites in the center attract. For the tourists that do not belong to these specific groups and are part of the more “general” audience, visiting these sites reveals the importance of and desire for authenticity to tourist experience. While the tourist experience in the center could be seen as authentic due to its close relationship to what tourists expect to experience in Berlin, sites in the periphery satisfy different perceptions of authenticity. One is that of site authenticity, which is related to the authenticity of the materials and objects of the site.⁶² The Soviet war memorial is a memorial that was created by the now historic Soviet Union and remains largely unchanged since its creation. Additionally, there are actual bodies buried at this site, giving the memorial a special material authenticity and charge. At the former Stasi prison, the original curtains, carpeting, prison cells, and interrogation rooms are presented as such to give tourists an authentic sense of the prison’s environment and atmosphere and enable one to seemingly travel back in time.

Traveling to and experiencing these sites also satisfies a longing for another kind of authenticity. Some tourists want to leave the “beaten path” of the tourist experience prescribed to a specific place because this prescribed path or experience has lost its authenticity due to other tourists spoiling it.⁶³ These periphery sites are less “spoiled” by other tourists and consequently are perceived to be more authentic because they are less frequently visited. For tourists searching for this kind of authenticity, leaving the “tourist” landscape of the city and entering the “real” landscape becomes synonymous with having a good

⁶² Shaw, Gareth, and Alan M Williams, “Engineering the Tourist Experience” in *Tourism and Tourism Space* (London: SAGE Publications, Ltd., 2004), 136.

⁶³ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 164.

and authentic experience of the city. Moreover, there is a sense of accomplishment associated with leaving the tourist landscape and entering the “real” landscape because it is more difficult.

XVI. LESSONS FROM BERLIN’S CENTER AND PERIPHERY

Berlin provides the opportunity to look at two different types of tourist environments, which can be thought of as occupying two extremes: a center created primarily for the tourist and a periphery that largely ignores the tourist. By considering other cities, especially other popular tourist destinations such as New York City, London, and Paris, it can quickly be appreciated that most cities do not have such differentiated landscapes with regard to tourists and city residents. Typically, tourist sites are more dispersed throughout a very loosely defined center, one that occupies a much larger area than Berlin’s, and, as a result, the “tourist” landscape is more integrated with the “real” landscape. One prominent exception to this traditional arrangement of tourist sites in the urban landscape is Washington, DC. Like Berlin, the city’s center, situated around the Mall, is clearly defined and saturated with the capital’s top tourist sites. Also, like Berlin, this center was only made possible by interrupting the organic growth of the city.⁶⁴ At the beginning of the twentieth century, Washington’s center was mostly demolished and redeveloped according to Burnham’s master plan for the center. For Berlin, the events of the twentieth century (bombing, urban renewal, and division) resulted in the destruction of the center, allowing the city’s center to be reconstructed from a relatively blank slate. The interruption in the natural evolution of a city’s landscape make it possible to create “true” centers such as those that can be seen in Washington, DC, and Berlin.

While the center that is created from this inorganic development can be seen to be a more effective tourist environment in that tourists can “image” the landscape more easily and make the unfamiliar familiar quickly, there is a cost to this imageable center. By creating an imageable and genuine

⁶⁴ Savage, Kirk, *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 162.

center, one designed for the tourist, a genuine periphery for non-tourists is also created.⁶⁵ Tourists want to stay in the center to maximize the efficiency of their visits, minimize their frustration and effort, satisfy their anticipation of seeing the sights presented to them in tourist resources, and so forth, but also because of the firm distinction created between the built environment of the tourist center and that of the “real” periphery, a distinction that builds on itself. In the case of Berlin, encouraging tourists to stay in the center through all of the factors outlined in this paper makes them miss the opportunity to experience the historic character that the periphery offers. As a result, Ladd’s concern that Berlin’s center will paralyze the periphery rather than the latter invigorating the former becomes a justifiable fear when examining Berlin’s tourist landscape. However, this consideration is complicated and qualified by the multi-faceted question of what constitutes “authenticity” and historic character. Nevertheless, the impact of the center-focused tourist enclave, the creation of a center that is imageable, remains significant. From Berlin we can discern the advantages and disadvantages that arise from different tourist environments. When examining the central tourist enclave against the periphery, we learn that these advantages and disadvantages are not based only on the tourist sites themselves and issues of authenticity, but are contingent on other factors such as circulation and access. Indeed, this investigation illustrates the significance of studying how tourists circulate, access, and ultimately interact with the sites and built environment to developing our understanding of tourist experience.

XVII. FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

The findings of this paper raise numerous questions about tourist experience. Specifically, these findings raise questions about the values of different features in tourist environments and their affect on the tourist experience. For instance, what is the value of imageability? What is the value of seeking authenticity? What is the value of efficiency and convenience? What is the value of anticipation? My paper reveals the complexity of the answers to these questions and falls far short of answering them fully. Therefore, it is important to lay some groundwork for potential future studies. A significant contribution to the study of

⁶⁵ Savage, *Monument Wars*, 160.

Berlin's tourist environments would provide an analysis of periphery sites in the former West Berlin. Are there notable differences in the tourist environments of West Berlin's periphery with that of East Berlin? Additionally, closer examination of the niche groups that visit the Soviet War Memorial and Cemetery in Treptower Park and the former Stasi prison in Hohenschönhausen would yield important insight about the truly varied experiences of these destinations. It would also be interesting to more fully understand the role these sites play for the specific communities of these niche groups. Finally, this study has revealed various levels of authenticity that are associated with tourist sites, and an analysis of the sites discussed in this paper would surely contribute to the complicated dialogue about the concept of authenticity. Specifically, investigating the preservation strategies and techniques and the presentation of information at both the central and peripheral sites would be particularly interesting – which “authentic” historical narrative does one excavate and preserve in a landscape characterized as a “palimpsest”?⁶⁶ Ultimately, these questions and our attempt to answer them may prove useful when considering issues of policy and planning, weighing the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of tourist environments in how a city is experienced.

⁶⁶ Huyssen, “After the War: Berlin as Palimpsest,” 81.

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